

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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FM U S MISSION GENEVA

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INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 2933

EXDIS

FOR SONNENFELDT AND HARTMAN FROM SHERER

E.O. 11652: XGDS1

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: CONVERSATION WITH DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER KOVALEV

AT MORNING MEETING OF COORDINATING COMMITTEE APRIL 24 KOVALEV  
ASKED IF HE COULD COME TO MY OFFICE FOR AN URGENT AND VERY  
PRIVATE CONVERSATION LATER THAT DAY. HE CAME IN THE AFTERNOON,  
ACCOMPANIED ONLY BY HIS INTERPRETER, AND WE COVERED THE FOLLOW-  
ING SUBJECTS DURING A TWO AND ONE-HALF HOUR CONVERSATION.

### A. ALLEGED CHANGE IN US ATTITUDES AND POLICIES

KOVALEV SAID IT HAD BEEN REPORTED TO HIM BY MEMBERS OF  
SEVERAL DELEGATIONS, JOURNALISTS AND OTHERS THAT THE US HAS  
ADOPTED A POLICY OF CONFRONTATION WITH THE USSR AT THE CSCE  
AND HAS DISCONTINUED ITS POLICY OF COOPERATION. I TOLD KOVALEV  
THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO CHANGE IN ATTITUDE OR POLICY AND THAT WE  
CONTINUED TO HOPE WE COULD WORK TOGETHER TO BRING THE CONFERENCE  
TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION. I ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT THE CONCLUSION  
COULD NOT BE CONSIDERED SUCCESSFUL UNLESS WE ACHIEVED  
BALANCED RESULTS. I REMINDED HIM THAT WE HAD SPOKEN MANY  
TIMES ABOUT BASKET III AND THAT POSITIONS WE ARE NOW TAKING  
SHOULD NOT COME AS A SURPRISE TO HIM. HE SAID THAT HE HAD  
NOT EXPECTED US TO TAKE THE LEAD IN THE DISCUSSIONS OF THE  
REMAINING BASKET III TEXTS AND DESCRIBED OUR POSITIONS AS  
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"TOUGHER" THAN THOSE OF OUR ALLIES. I SAID THAT I COULD NOT

AGREE WITH SUCH A DESCRIPTION. WE HAD CONSISTENTLY STRIVEN FOR REALISTIC TEXTS AND WE HAD MADE NO ATTEMPT TO LEAD BASKET III DISCUSSIONS. I WAS AWARE OF NO PROPOSAL WHERE WE WERE OUT IN FRONT OF OUR ALLIES WITH THE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF THE VERY IMPORTANT TEXT ON WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS. KOVALEV EXPRESSED SATISFACTION WITH MY ASSURANCES THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO CHANGE IN OUR POLICY OR ATTITUDE AND AGREED TO STUDY CONCESSIONS THEY MIGHT MAKE ON THE JOURNALIST TEXT.

B. CBMS

KOVALEV COMPLAINED ABOUT LACK OF US SUPPORT FOR THE SOVIET PROPOSAL THAT NOTIFICATION SHOULD BE ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS. I REPLIED ALONG THE LINES OF MY CONVERSATION WITH SOVIET BASKET I CHIEF AMBASSADOR MENDELEVICH (GENEVA 2661 APRIL 17) POINTING OUT THAT PERHAPS THE ALLIES COULD ACCEPT THE CONCEPT OF VOLUNTARINESS BUT NOT THE TWO WORDS "VOLUNTARY BASIS". AS HAD MENDELEVICH BEFORE HIM, KOVALEV INDICATED THAT THESE TWO WORDS WERE OF UTMOST IMPORTANCE AND THAT, IF PROGRESS WAS TO BE MADE, THE US AND ITS ALLIES WOULD HAVE TO ACCEPT THEM. I TOLD KOVALEV THAT I THOUGHT OUR ALLIES WOULD BE RELUCTANT TO MOVE MUCH FURTHER ON THE NATURE OF THE COMMITMENT UNTIL THEY HAD A CLEARER IDEA OF THE PARAMETERS THE SOVIET UNION HAD IN MIND. KOVALEV REPLIED THAT THE EAST HAD ALREADY REVEALED TWO PARAMETERS (NOTIFICATION TO ALL PARTICIPANTS AND APPLICATION IN ALL OF EUROPE) BUT THESE HAD SIMPLY BEEN "SWALLOWED" BY THE WEST. HE GAVE THE STRONG HINT THAT THE SOVIETS MIGHT BE MORE FLEXIBLE ON CERTAIN OTHER PARAMETERS BUT WOULD INSIST THAT THE AREA COVERED IN THE USSR BE NO MORE THAN 100 KILOMETERS.

C. BASKET III

KOVALEV ALLEGED THAT THE US WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE LACK OF PROGRESS REGARDING THE HUMAN CONTACTS INTRODUCTORY TEXT. I DENIED THIS POINTING OUT OUR INSTRUCTIONS APPEARED TO BE IN LINE WITH THOSE OF OUR ALLIES. IT WAS DIFFICULT TO CONVINCE HIM THAT WE HAD INSTRUCTIONS REGARDING THE SWISS PARAGRAPH AND PARAGRAPH THREE OF THE INTRODUCTORY TEXT AS HE HAD GAINED THE IMPRESSION THAT DECISIONS ON THE CONFIDENTIAL

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SUBJECT WERE BEING MADE BY THE DELEGATION. I THINK HE FINALLY ACCEPTED THE FACT THAT THE DEPARTMENT HAS INSTRUCTED US IN THESE MATTERS. AS IT WAS LATE KOVALEV MENTIONED ONLY BRIEFLY THE TEXTS ON TRAVEL, AUDIO-VISUAL INFORMATION (BROADCASTING) AND JOURNALISTS ALLEGING ONCE AGAIN THAT WE WERE MAKING THINGS MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE SOVIET UNION. WITH REGARD TO TRAVEL I TOLD KOVALEV WE WERE SIMPLY FOLLOWING THE LEAD OF THE NINE. ON THE SUBJECT OF BROADCASTING I TOLD HIM WE HAD JUST

RECENTLY PRESENTED A NEW TEXT TO THE NATO CAUCUS FOR ITS CONSIDERATION. KOVALEV GLOWERED AND SAID THAT THE SOVIET UNION COULD NOT ACCEPT ANY FORMULATION ON THE SUBJECT AND THAT WE SHOULD LEAVE WELL ENOUGH ALONE. RETURNING TO THE SUBJECT OF WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS KOVALEV APPEARED TO BE MOST INTERESTED IN THE PARAGRAPH ON EXPULSION. IN REPLY TO HIS QUESTION ABOUT WHAT WE WISHED TO INCLUDE IN THIS PARAGRAPH I SAID THAT WE SHOULD STRIVE FOR AGREEMENT ON LANGUAGE SUCH AS "NO EXPULSION FOR LEGITIMATE PURSUIT OF PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES".

D. COMMENT

ALTHOUGH KOVALEV APPEARED TO BE SATISFIED WITH THE CONVERSATION IT IS CLEAR THAT THE SOVIETS WISH WE WOULD TAKE LESS INTEREST IN THE REMAINING BASKET III ISSUES. THEY WILL PROBABLY MAKE THIS DESIRE KNOWN IN WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW IN DUE COURSE.DALE

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